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## NOVEMBER MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library since the June meeting was also read.

In the absence of the Cabinet-Keeper, the Librarian said that the Society had received from the family of the late George Ticknor a cast of Milmore's bust of Mr. Ticknor.

Rev. Henry F. Jenks was appointed to write a memoir of the late Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige for publication in the Proceedings.

The Hon. Henry L. Pierce was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. William B. Weedon, of Providence, Rhode Island, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR read the following paper: —

*The Cabot Controversies.*

With our present knowledge of the adventures by sea of the Normans and Bretons, or of the Biscayans and Basques, it cannot be proved that in the later years of the fifteenth century, any or all of them caught fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and so equalled on the American coast the hardihood of their known pursuit of whale, at that time, in the Icelandic seas. It needs only to be shown that these sea-going folks accomplished similar exploits in search of cod, to make it probable that before the days of John Cabot such people had become acquainted with the northeastern shores of America. We have no documentary evidence that the Bretons, for instance, were on the Newfoundland coast before 1504; but there is nothing improbable in the supposition that much earlier visits were made by courageous mariners. In those times as well as later, the Church enforced observance of a large number of days on which fish was the permitted food.

On other days in winter a meat diet was little known among the common people. Seamen accordingly took great risks in distant seas to obtain fish for salting.

There is a chance that some dated manuscript or chart may yet be discovered which shall establish the certainty of such Biscayan, or perhaps Norman visits. In the seventeenth century Spain actually rested her right to fish on these shores in the frequenting of them by Basque fishermen before the Cabot discoveries, though it seems to have been near the middle of the sixteenth century before the Spaniards were again in any numbers in these waters.<sup>1</sup>

In Peter Martyr's account of the early English voyages, it is said that Cabot found the word *Baccalaos* used on this coast, or, at least, that is one interpretation of his Latin. As this term was one common on the Biscayan shores for stock-fish or cod, it might be deemed conclusive evidence of a previous acquaintance by the Basques with this coast, if Martyr's language would bear such an interpretation in the opinion of all scholars; but it will not, though Harrissee seems to think that the expression was used by the natives of the coast, and not by the common people of Biscay, which is the point in dispute. Judge Prowse thinks that the English began to fish on the coast in 1498, the Portuguese in 1501, and the French in 1504.

Owing to the lack of explicit and published documentary evidence, events which were later proved to mark two separate voyages of the Cabots were so confused in the minds of chroniclers, that for more than three hundred years the voyage of discovery in 1497, followed up the next year by one for possible colonization, were reckoned as one, as has been unaccountably done in a recent "History of the New World, called America," by E. J. Payne. The confusion was long ago dispelled, when Richard Biddle published his "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot" in 1831, and therein solved what was at that time the chief riddle of the Cabot story. The narrative of these voyages is, however, still left singularly studded with mooted points, and the controversy over them has served to keep alive our interest in the exploits of these English pioneers in American discovery. We are now to pass in review these further controverted questions.

<sup>1</sup> Prowse's *Newfoundland*, p. 42.

Charles Deane represents that John Cabot was born in Genoa, and was naturalized in Venice. This is the view of Harris, who goes critically into the evidence. Tarducci, who had elaborately discussed the point in the "*Revista Storica italiana*" in 1892, repeated his argument for Venice as the birthplace in his later book on the Cabots. Bullo, in a monograph, contends with little force for Chioggia. The opinions of Deane and Harris are the best sustained.

The controversy over the date of the voyage of discovery yields more easily to demonstration. Hakluyt, in his preliminary single volume, published in 1589, had cited one of the legends of the Cabot mappemonde (1544), which gave the date as 1494. On the strength of this, before the map itself had been brought to the notice of modern scholars, and notwithstanding Hakluyt later adopted the date 1497, other writers, like Harris and Pinkerton, had accepted the date of 1494, and it has been agreed to in our day by D'Avezac and Tarducci. When Hakluyt, in 1600, made the change to 1497, some years after Lok in his map had given that date, he set a fashion which became more prevalent; and it was adopted by Biddle as the only possible date, in view of the fact that the royal license for the voyage was issued in March, 1495-6.

In 1843 the discovery of the only copy of the Cabot map which has been found, and which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, showed that Hakluyt, in copying the legend in 1589, had done so correctly; for the date 1494 was plainly given upon the map. R. H. Major, of the British Museum map department, endeavored to account for the date 1494 by supposing that in the printer's copy of the legends, the Roman figures VII had been read IIII, because the inclining strokes of the V were not brought together at the bottom. Cumulative evidence, as well as that of the patent, has made it certain to the large majority of investigators that 1497 is the exact date. A conclusive document in support of this date, as well as in proof of the unquestionable agency of the elder Cabot, as against his son's, in the discovery of that year, was found some years ago in the archives at Milan. It is a letter of Raimondo de Soncino, which was originally published in 1865, reprinted by Desimoni in 1881, and was first given in English by Deane in 1883, and later, in

another version, by Prowse in 1895. The Cabot map gave the particular date as June 24. This has generally been accepted as correct; but Harrissee has recently argued that it is an impossible date, inasmuch as ten or fourteen days more would have been necessary to reach the coast from the time of leaving England.

The scene of the landfall is still in dispute, and is likely to remain so. There was no documentary evidence on the point, except inferentially, till 1843, when the Cabot map was discovered. It was then found that the expression *Prima terra vista* was engraved across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, beginning at a point near the northern extremity of Cape Breton Island. It was of course a question whether this meant that the island, as a whole, was the land first seen, or that this particular northern cape of the island was intended. That it conveyed this latter exactness of description is the opinion of Deane, Bourinot, and others; while S. E. Dawson, in a paper published by the Royal Society of Canada, thinks that the island as a whole was intended, and that the true landfall was the proper Cape Breton, at the southeast corner of the island. With this view he contends for the small island, Scatari, lying seaward of that point, as the island of St. John discovered on "the same day." Those who favor the North Cape point to Prince Edward's Island as the attendant island. Dawson's view is in a measure sustained by the Portuguese Portolano, usually dated from 1514 to 1520. Prowse, in dismissing Dawson's argument, depends upon what is called the "liturgical test" of early explorations, during which navigators named landmarks after saints' days, the order of such days in the calendar being held to determine their course and speed. He finds that this test as applied to Cosa's coast names, supposed to mark Cabot's progress, conflicts with Dawson's theory.

The eastern coast of Newfoundland has been accepted as the landfall by Howley and others. Howley indicates the particular locality as being within the southeastern peninsula, or the old colony of Avalon, as granted later to Lord Baltimore. Prowse, doubting the original character of the Cabot map, contends that there is no positive testimony as to the precise spot of the landfall, and thinks it may have been on the Labrador or Newfoundland outer coast, probably at Cape

Bonavista on the latter, where John Mason, in his map of Newfoundland (1616?), places the legend, "First found by Cabot." This map is reproduced from Vaughan's "Golden Fleece" (1625) in Winsor's "America," vol. viii., and in Prowse's Newfoundland, p. 106.

An early Italian sojourner in the southern parts of North America, Galvano, died in 1557, and left behind an account of the New World, which was later printed, and a translation of it has been published by the Hakluyt Society. In this he speaks of Cabot seeing land in latitude  $45^{\circ}$  north, which so closely conforms to the testimony of the Cabot map that Deane suspects Galvano to have known that cartographical record.

When Biddle wrote, there was little question among scholars that Cabot's landfall had been made on the Labrador coast. This view seemed to be supported by the reported conversation of Sebastian Cabot, and by the evidence of Thorne, and by the map of Juan de la Cosa, who had his knowledge probably from English sources. The official Spanish map of Ribero in 1529 bears a legend that the "English from Bristol" discovered the Labrador coast. Molineaux's map (1600) also bore a Cabot legend on the same shore. Biddle, in his argument, was not compelled to confront the testimony of the Cabot map, for it had not then been found. Harrisse, who writes long after that development, still contends for the Labrador theory, and shoves aside the evidence of the map. This he does in the belief that at this time (1544) France, through Cartier's exploration, was establishing claims about the St. Lawrence gulf to the prejudice of England, and that Cabot, now in England, in order to rehabilitate the English counter claim, falsified the record, and inserted the inscription in a way to support the right of England to the territory adjacent to the gulf. It is hardly safe to hold that either of these contestants has established his theory beyond dispute.

In the short interval between the landfall and August, when the return voyage was completed, there was not time for any extended exploration, and Cabot's course after sighting land has been equally in dispute. Some contend that he made the circuit of the gulf, and passed out by the straits of Belle Isle. At all events it has been asserted that, wherever he may have struck the land, Cabot practically pre-empted for England the continent of North America, by virtue of having seen it at the

north before any one saw it at the south. This belief is better vouched for than any theory which has been developed, by Varnhagen originally, and later by Fiske and Boyd Thacher, to rehabilitate the claim of Vespuccius to priority. If Cabot did not strike the Labrador coast, but rather the Newfoundland or Cape Breton shores, it may be open to doubt if he saw on his first voyage the mainland at all; and Markham contends that he did not. That Cabot supposed he saw it, thinking it doubtless Asia, seems apparent from the language of the second patent under which the voyage of 1498 was conducted. John Cabot is credited in this instrument with having seen in his earlier voyages both "land *and* isle." It is a quibble to dispute the Cabot claim to priority on any technical distinction between the mainland and any adjacent island.

Whatever claim England later pressed for the possession of North America rested on what John Cabot now saw in 1497, when he took possession for the English crown. Still, after the voyage of the next year was accomplished, England for many years, notwithstanding sundry voyages for trade and observation, made no attempt to follow up her rights by occupancy. It has been conjectured that this apathy was owing, in part at least, to the unwillingness of Wolsey, who was ambitious of the papal chair, to displease the Emperor. Meanwhile, however, English fishermen seem to have frequented the coast. D. W. Prowse, in his "History of Newfoundland" (1895) has pointed out how the English cod fishery on the Newfoundland banks, following upon the Cabots' discoveries, influenced the growth of the maritime supremacy of England. "The Newfoundland fishery," said Raleigh, "was the mainstay and support of the western counties," whence sprang the power that struck the Armada. Judge Prowse aims to show that this fishing-trade, up to 1630, was the greatest business enterprise in America, with intimate connection at times with New England and Virginia, and that the frequenting of Spanish fishermen on the coast practically ceased after the defeat of the Armada. Unfortunately, the fishery and trading voyages of the sixteenth century enter very little, or not at all, into the chronicles of discovery; and Judge Prowse, in fortifying his belief of the paramount authority of the English in the Newfoundland regions during the first half of that century, is obliged to depend on chance

references in contemporary documents, or inferentially on customs long established when referred to in later papers.

The act of the 33d year of Henry VIII., relative in part to fishing on the Newfoundland coast, is said to have been the first English Act of Parliament relative to the New World.

After it came to be generally understood that the New World was a distinct continent, there grew up some jealousy in England of the success which other European people had had in colonization beyond the Atlantic. At this time Eden, a distinguished student of the new discoveries, began to exert some influence on the maritime spirit of England. In 1553 he published a translation from Sebastian Münster, which he called "A Treatise of the Newe India," and two years later (1555) he printed a version from Peter Martyr, which he styled "Decades of the Newe Worlde." This account by Martyr, dated in 1516, is the earliest which we have of the printed narratives of Cabot's voyages, and Martyr doubtless obtained the details from Sebastian Cabot, who is known to have been his friend. In like manner, what Ramusio tells us was derived from personal interviews of a similar character. When Eden wrote, Sebastian Cabot, an old man, was still alive in England, and the chronicler's views may be supposed to have been to some extent influenced by the aged mariner's. These opinions of Eden were that it behooved his countrymen, under the warrant of the Cabot discoveries, not to delay longer in taking possession of the New World from Baccalaos to Florida,—this latter region having been coasted by Cabot, as Ramusio represented, in his lack of discrimination between the two voyages.

Harris found on the reverse of a manuscript map by Dr. Dee, preserved in the British Museum and dated 1580, a similar plea for English activity. Two years later (1582) Hakluyt printed his little "Divers Voyages." He here noted for the first time the patent of March, 1495-6, to John Cabot and his three sons, and formulated a claim by virtue of the discoveries under that instrument to a stretch of the American coast from 67° in the north to Florida. The book also contained Michael Lok's map of 1582, wherein a delineation of Cape Breton bore the legend, "J. Cabot, 1497." This is the earliest instance of the correct date in a printed document,



and it offers beside a clear recognition of John Cabot's agency in the discovery. A similar plea, when Hakluyt was trying to induce Queen Elizabeth to countenance Sir Walter Raleigh's American projects, was again entered by that friend of discovery in 1584 in his "Westerne Planting," a treatise which remained in manuscript till 1877, when the Maine Historical Society published it under the editing of Dr. Wood and Dr. Deane. It has since been included in the Edinburgh edition of Hakluyt.

We have already seen that Hakluyt's larger volume of 1589 cited the evidence of the Cabot map to the date of 1494, as that of the discovery. That volume reproduced some portions of Hakluyt's little collection of 1582, and gathered together for the English reader the scattered testimonies of Martyr, Ramusio, Gomara, and the lesser authorities. A more extended grouping of such material appeared finally in the third volume of Hakluyt's greater work, published in 1600. He printed all these accounts just as he found them, with all their glaring inconsistencies, and made no attempts to reconcile them.

Whether the father John Cabot was accompanied by his son Sebastian in this voyage of 1497, is still in dispute. Harrisse denies the presence of the son. So does Captain Duro, of the Spanish navy, in a paper in the "*España Moderna*." Judge Prowse finds no record to show that any of John Cabot's sons accompanied him, and contends that the names of Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus Cabot were inserted in the patent "to extend the duration of the charter to the full extent of their young lives"; but in this he is unmindful of the fact that the patent itself continues the rights which it conveyed to the heirs of Cabot. The English Drapers Company, in 1521, in an address to the king, said that Sebastian "was never in that land himself," while "he makes report of many things as he hath heard his father and other men speak in times past." Deane, on the other hand, thinks it almost certain that Sebastian was on the ship. Sebastian's own testimony, if it be accepted, seems to leave no doubt that he was his father's companion. The legends on the map of 1544 record for the first time the joint action of John and Sebastian Cabot in this initial voyage. The same conjunction of effort is implied in an inscription on a well-known portrait

of Sebastian Cabot, which was painted while he was in England, and, finally coming into Biddle's possession, was burned later in his house in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Copies, which had been made of it, are preserved in the historical societies of Massachusetts and New York. It has been often engraved.

Dr. Deane speaks of Sebastian Cabot as "the Sphinx of American history." It seems to be to most minds certain, trusting his own testimony, that Sebastian was on the second voyage in 1498; but even this is denied by HARRISSE, who is not inclined to accept any testimony of the younger Cabot not confirmed by other evidence.

There is a dispute over his birthplace more perplexing than that which concerns his father's nativity. Sebastian told Eden that he was born in Bristol, England, whither his father had come not long before. On the other hand, he assured Contarini that he was a native of Venice,—a statement now accepted by Deane, Tarducci, and most of the other authorities.

The character of Sebastian Cabot may be held, from the contradictions already indicated, to be easily open to dispute. Biddle and some later biographers like Nichols of Bristol have given him something like heroic attributes. Impartial critics, possessed of the later developments of research, can but expose Sebastian's conflicting statements; yet it is fair to remember that these diversities are not drawn from anything that he has written, but from what others have reported him as saying. His shuffling conduct, when he tried to be false to his obligations, and sell maritime secrets to the Republic of Venice, may, perhaps, rest on sufficient evidence, since it is contained in a letter of Contarini, from the Milan Archives, and in the Calendars of the Venetian Archives (1551), as published by the English Government. HARRISSE, particularly in his "Discovery of North America," and in his "John Cabot and Sebastian, his Son," denounces Sebastian Cabot as a liar and an intriguer; but this critic is over anxious sometimes to impale his victim. HARRISSE's antagonist, the Spaniard Duro, speaks of Sebastian's moral dishonesty. He charges him likewise with incapacity, and in scientific attainments and seamanship HARRISSE is inclined to discredit him. It is difficult, however, to believe that administrative incompetency could have characterized very greatly a man who was sought, both

by England and Spain, to take the management of their maritime affairs. That his mind was fertile in resources, and that he exercised in matters of detail a superior grasp, seems evident. As a student of phenomena, he was, if not the first, a leading agent to suspect that by observing the variation of the needle a law could be adduced for determining longitude; and on his death-bed he talked of it as a secret of the seaman's art. He naturally carried his expectations too far, since first glimpses of nature's laws are likely to incline the imaginative mind to excess of belief; but the continued publication to-day of magnetic charts, and the occasional use of them in navigation, show that Cabot's insight was clear.

His manuscript maps are lost; but Harrissee records in his "Discovery of North America," and in his English book on "John Cabot," etc., various mentions of them by his contemporaries. His drafts were doubtless used by Juan de la Cosa in delineating the Asiatic coast in the map of 1500, now preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Madrid. This earliest delineation of the American regions was lost sight of till Humboldt drew attention to it, and nothing of an earlier date, showing the new world, has ever been found. The Spanish Government has lately reproduced it in full size, and it has been engraved by Jomard and many others, particularly its American parts. There is good reason to believe that Cabot's charts were used for the regions of the northeast by Ruysch, who produced the earliest engraved map, showing the new discoveries, which appeared in the Ptolemy of 1586, and has been reproduced by Winsor, Nordenskiöld, Prowse, and many others. Prowse,<sup>1</sup> who also despises Sebastian Cabot, thinks that in the poor estate of his old age he may have sold his maps to Spain, and that their disappearance may have been occasioned by the jealousy of Spain in keeping secret maps of the New World, — a habit charged upon the Spanish Hydrographical Office of that time, particularly by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Harrissee seems inclined to doubt this habit in cases which tell against his theories, though he acknowledges that the Pilot Major was not in the early years permitted to sell maps, and shows how Sebastian Cabot, while in that office, prevented others from doing the same. The engraved map of 1544, usually cited as the Cabot mappemonde, and now pre-

<sup>1</sup> Newfoundland, p. 30.

served in the only copy known, in the great library at Paris, has been photographed, full-size, for some of the principal American historical libraries, and has been often reproduced on a smaller scale in the great fac-simile atlases and elsewhere. There is some reason to believe that other editions or issues of it may have been produced, since the date 1549 is assigned to it, in the citation of some of its legends made by Chytræus about 1565. These inscriptions are further enigmas; for while Sebastian Cabot must necessarily have been the source from which some of the statements are drawn, there are parts of the legends which it is impossible to believe represent such knowledge as he must be supposed to have had. Ortelius, the earliest maker of atlases, possessed, in 1570, a copy of the map; but he throws no light upon it. These legends are not all a part of the map itself, but most of them are printed on separate sheets of paper and pasted on its margin. They interlink with the body of the map in such a way, however, as to make it apparent that they belong to the publication. They are in Latin and Spanish, nearly matching. A manuscript copy of them in the hand of a learned Spaniard, Dr. Grajales, was found by Harris in the Royal Library at Madrid, and led that critic to think that Cabot may have furnished the data, and Grajales have worked up the text; but there does not seem to be evidence that Grajales may not have copied them from another copy or from the printed sheets. The inscriptions were never in their completeness laid before scholars in print, till they were copied for Dr. Deane from the map. After his death the text with an English translation, made under his direction, was printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in February, 1891. Some of them are printed by Harris in his English book on Cabot. The same inscriptions from the original type, and printed in a brochure, turned up in 1895, for the first time, in an auction sale of the library of the Chateau de Lobris, in Silesia, and was brought to this country for a dealer in New York. The brochure furnishes a title — "*Declaratio Chartæ Novæ Navigatoriæ Domini Almirantis*" — not before known. The inscriptions veil the fact that there were separate voyages of discovery and of attempted colonization.

The voyage of 1498, conducted under the license granted

February 3, 1497-8, began in the following May and continued till the autumn or early winter. Our knowledge of its progress depends unfortunately and largely on what Sebastian Cabot is reported to have said of his experiences in these years; but we are forced to eliminate from his narrative what we must otherwise determine could only have belonged to events of the earlier voyage. We have, in addition, what is here and there recorded in various documentary sources. These last authorities have been rendered accessible in what has been collected in the works of Biddle, Harrisse, Deane, Tarducci, Pezzi, and Desimoni; and in the calendars of the Venetian and Spanish documents, published by the Master of the Rolls, in London. An enumeration of the documentary sources of the two Cabot voyages, as well as indications of the places wherein they can be found, constitute a "Syllabus" at the end of Harrisse's latest book on "John Cabot and Sebastian, his Son."

There is another conflict of testimony as to the high latitude reached by Cabot on this second voyage. Some accounts say that it was 55°, and others about 67°, but it is possible that the larger figures refer to a later voyage, yet to be mentioned as among the possibilities. On his southern course he is said to have gone down to 36°, or, as again expressed, to the latitude of Gibraltar. That Ojeda in 1501 was ordered by Spain to the Florida coast to plant symbols of the Spanish rights thereto, and to bar out the English, is thought to have been occasioned by English visitors to that region, who, in the opinion of some, must necessarily have been Cabot and his companions on this voyage of 1498.

There are two incidents in Sebastian Cabot's career which have been thought to show that he could never have been so far south along this Atlantic coast. If he had, and had thereby established any rights for England, it is thought that he would not have held his tongue in 1524, when he was at the Congress of Badajos and the claim of Spain to this coast was assumed. Again in 1535 he was present at the trial instituted by the Columbus heirs, and he there testified that he did not know there was a continuous coast from Baccalaos to Florida, which, with the experience assigned to him on this voyage, would have been perjury. Too much should not be made of these variances, however, since Sebastian Cabot at both these

dates was a paid officer of Spain, and could hardly be expected to damage the interests of his Spanish masters or his own.

That Sebastian Cabot made a later voyage to the north Atlantic coast is likewise a matter of dispute. Eden in his "Treatise of the Newe India" (1553), while Cabot was living in England, mentions such a voyage as having occurred in 1516. Hakluyt later, referring to it, makes the voyage, however, take a direction towards the West Indies. Biddle found its destination in the Arctic regions, and says that Cabot was accompanied by Pert, and that the two explorers reached the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 30'$ —which is the extreme altitude of his northern exploration, as professed by Cabot himself to Ramusio. Deane and Kohl are inclined to discredit the voyage altogether; but Brevoort, in a communication to Deane, suspects it may have taken place, but in 1508, and not in 1516. Harrisse does not credit this voyage, nor the alleged earlier one of 1503, when Sebastian is said to have brought some native Americans to England.

A new intelligence as regards the entire Cabot story was shed upon it in 1831, when Richard Biddle printed his "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot." It was he, as has been shown, who separated the details of the two voyages. He printed the license for a voyage of discovery in full for the first time. He offered the best exposition of these early maritime explorations which had been made up to that time. The lesser biographies of Hayward (in Sparks's "American Biography") and of Nichols of Bristol, owe everything to Biddle.

The chapter which Charles Deane gave to the subject in the third volume of the "Narrative and Critical History of America" constitutes a cautious and thorough examination of all the evidence, extended or brief, worthy of consideration; and he surveys it in a chronological way. A study of Dr. Deane's treatment is peculiarly indicative of the hazards to which historical statements are subjected during transmission from one writer to another, under the influence of tradition, chance knowledge, inference, and conjecture.

Harrisse's full knowledge, with an unconscious wavering from his often professed documentary standard, is shown in his "Jean et Sébastien Cabot" (1882), when he examines the attendant cartography and bibliography, and enriches his text with documentary proofs. He also arranges the chronology of

later voyages down to the middle of the sixteenth century. What he says of the Cabots in his "Discovery of North America" (1892) puts in English what he had before displayed in French, and adds something in a supplemental way. He gave a later word in his "Sébastien Cabot, Navigateur Vénétien," which was printed in the "Revue de Géographie," January, 1895. He rearranged and amplified all the discussions on mooted points, and cited the evidences thereupon with much skill in his "John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian his Son" (London, 1896).

Beside the little treatise of Cornelio Desimoni, the Italians have given us an extended survey in the work of Tarducci, published at Venice in 1892. In his treatment he avails himself of what his predecessors had done up to that time; but he seems ignorant of the labors of Dr. Deane. An English translation by H. F. Brownson was published at Detroit in 1893, but the translator failed to rectify palpable errors of his original. Tarducci shows industry; but his book has some glaring defects, and he stubbornly adheres to exploded theories.

The lesser authorities who have aimed in what they have produced to keep abreast of the progress of knowledge on the subject are the following: Kohl, in his "Discovery of Maine"; Coote, in the "Dictionary of National Biography"; Bancroft, in the "Centennial" and later editions of his "United States"; Fiske, in his "Discovery of America"; Winsor, in his "Columbus"; Kingsford, in his "History of Canada"; and Prowse, in his "History of Newfoundland."

MR. BARRETT WENDELL then communicated some remarks suggested by Mr. Brooks Adams's recent work on "The Law of Civilization and Decay," as follows:—

Historical literature—if for the moment one may call literature all published results of faithful historical study—may be divided into three distinct classes. The first consists of carefully verified collections of historical data; and one has only to glance at the Collections of this Society to see what admirable work of this kind has been done in New England. The second consists of narratives which, infusing such data with the vitality of reconstructive imagination, make the

times that are vanished live again. This is the historical literature which learned and vulgar alike recognize and enjoy ; under this head fall almost all the classics of history ; and one has only to read the roll of this Society, during the century and more of its existence, to realize what admirable work of this kind, too, New England has accomplished. The third kind of historical literature is rare ; it consists of those efforts which from time to time powerful minds have made to wrest from narratives and from data alike the secrets which underlie them. This was the kind which Walter Raleigh tried to write ; and no one yet has phrased its ideal better than he : "It is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other ; but the form internal. And though it hath pleased God to reserve the art of reading men's thoughts to himself ; yet as the fruit tells the name of the tree, so do the outward works of men (as far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to guess at the rest. . . . By [history] . . . it is, that we live in the very time when [the world] was created ; we behold how it was governed ; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled ; how kings and kingdoms have flourished and fallen ; and for what virtue and piety God made prosperous, and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe unto history, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead ancestors ; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal ; by the comparison and application of other men's fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings."

In Raleigh's day no sound philosophy of history could be formulated. Data were wanting ; narrative and legend were intermingled in epic confusion. Even a generation ago, when Buckle wrote, the data with which he worked were still so new that, throughout the great fragment which he left us, one feels the simplicity of his error almost as certainly as his power. In our own lifetimes the world has moved fast. Whether it have moved fast enough to make even yet possible any valid work such as Raleigh and Buckle and the rest failed to bring forth, one may still doubt. But with all doubtful reservations



it is hard to deny that there has lately been produced here in New England a book of historical philosophy which so fearlessly and consistently generalizes from the great mass of phenomena with which it deals that one inclines more and more to wonder whether, almost neglected now, it may not by and by take its place as a lasting contribution to human thought.

Of course, no such work can as yet be final. Bacon's philosophy was nowise final, nor Darwin's biology. When understood, however, these have proved so truly stimulating, so vigorously suggestive of how others who came after might finally work, that in admiration of their excellence the world has already almost forgotten their limitations. To claim for any work as yet untested by time a rank which may be named in the same breath with theirs would be foolishly presumptuous. Without presumption, however, one may plainly say that, in all probability, a work still almost fresh from the press is one of two things: either a very notable addition to true philosophy, or else the next most notable thing, — a statement of honest error so faithfully consistent that it is bound to clear the way for final truth to come. Such a work is the book now in mind, — superficially, to be sure, irritating and obscure, but fundamentally full of stimulating suggestion, — Mr. Brooks Adams's "Law of Civilization and Decay."

It is persistently obscure for a very obvious reason. Its fundamental assumption is that human affairs, like all other phenomena, are simply a mode of force, — "that the law of force and energy is of universal application in nature, and that animal life is one of the outlets through which solar energy is dissipated. Starting from this fundamental proposition, the first deduction is, that, as human societies are forms of animal life, these societies must differ among themselves in energy, in proportion as nature has endowed them, more or less abundantly, with energetic material." Clearly this assumption, agreeable or not to one's general habit of thought, is essentially fatalistic, leaving little room, if any, for individual freedom of action among mankind. It is perfectly conceivable, however, and in the conception of this book it is unflinchingly maintained from beginning to end. In setting it forth, at the same time, Mr. Adams had at his disposal only the vehicle of language. From its origin, language has framed itself in accordance with an assumption utterly opposed to

his. An analogy familiar to us all will make his difficulty clear: for some centuries the rotation of the earth has been generally admitted; but language clings, and will always cling, to the terms *sunrise* and *sunset*. By the same token, any writer who to-day would consider human conduct as essentially automatic is forced to express himself in terms which habitually describe it as responsible agency. To escape the innumerable confusions which instantly arise would demand a literary power little short of genius.

Again, even though every danger of obscurity were avoided, a conception so foreign to the complacent habit of common thought, would need, to secure a sympathetic hearing, an aid which in this case is totally lacking. No commonplace of rhetoric is older or more sensible than that which counsels whoever should address an audience not surely at one with him to begin in a manner deliberately conciliatory. A manner less conciliatory than the sturdy bluntness of Mr. Adams can hardly be imagined. On the contrary, as has been said, his literary address is distinctly irritating. Whoever does not instantly agree with him is almost invited to meet his assertions with categorical denial, and done with it.

Take, for example, the cardinal point of his theory, which follows directly upon the passage cited a little while ago: "Thought is one of the manifestations of human energy; and among the earlier and simpler phases of thought, two stand conspicuous, — Fear and Greed: Fear, which, by stimulating the imagination, creates a belief in an invisible world, and ultimately develops a priesthood; and Greed, which dissipates energy in war and trade." To one religiously and devoutly disposed, the effect of that last sentence would probably be such as to drown in wrathful, if temporary, oblivion the fact that Scripture itself proclaims how "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge; but fools despise wisdom and instruction." A sturdy man of affairs, meanwhile, would surely be provoked to a righteously indignant declaration that neither he nor his friends are greedy or dissipated. And by this time nobody would be in a mood calmly to remember that, according to Mr. Adams's premises, his book and he himself are mere manifestations of solar energy as essentially, irresponsibly guiltless as a thunderstorm or an eclipse of the moon.

Preposterous, even flippant, such a statement as that must seem to our ordinary habits of mind. Really, however, it is neither. Whatever else we human beings may be, we are certainly animals in many respects similar to other vertebrates. Whatever else animals are, they are natural phenomena, of which the mutual relations are at present understood to be a good deal closer than used to be thought. The nebular hypothesis, or something very like it, is now generally accepted. We believe that we are living on a planet which from gaseous incandescence has cooled to a point where it can support life. We believe, too, that in time it shall cool to a point where life can no longer be supported. We believe, in short, that the earth is passing from such a stage as the telescopes reveal in Jupiter to such a stage as they reveal in the moon. Animal life, then, from beginning to end, is so temporary an intervening phenomena, that, considered in its relation to the lifetime of the planet, it may fairly be regarded as a single fact. Thus regarded, its aspect at any stage of its development may rationally be expected to throw at least suggestive light on its aspect at any other. To understand, accordingly, its more complex aspects, we may well consider its simpler; for, so far as we can now see, the one have almost certainly developed from something which resembled the other. In its lower, primitive forms, animal life, exposed to the full force of the struggle for existence, generally survives under one of two conditions, — either by escaping from dangerous environment, or by becoming itself dangerous, and devouring whatever comes within its reach; the two types which persist are the type which manages not to be eaten, and the type which eats. To attribute something like consciousness to organisms sensitive enough to survive is at least plausible. If we do so, our conclusion is obvious: the consciousness of such animals as survive by escaping destruction must probably be based on a sentiment of terror; the consciousness of such animals as survive by destroying must probably be based on a sentiment of passionate appetite. What Mr. Adams's generalization really means is that these two primitive types of consciousness pervade all sentient nature. In their higher developments their aspect departs from their original aspect as widely as human beings depart from protozoa; but their nature does not essentially change. And human affairs vary and develop, flourish

and decay, in startling accord with the conditions which at one time make dominant the imaginative type of consciousness, which is analogous to primitive terror, and at another the predatory type of consciousness, which is analogous to primitive appetite.

In the earlier stages of any social development, he goes on to say, the former type predominates, finally expressing itself in the priest, the hero, and the artist; in the later stages of such development, the latter type predominates, expressing itself finally in such destructive embodiments of material power as usurers and the like. And all this process he considers throughout as a fixed, immutable law of nature.

The greater part of his book is accordingly given to a broad survey of European history from the days of the Roman Republic to the present time. In a single chapter, bewilderingly compact, he sketches the decay and fall of the Western Empire. Then, in little more than three hundred pages, he proceeds to trace, through the dimness of the Middle Ages, the growing force of the imaginative spirit, which finally expressed itself in the First Crusade; from which epoch he gradually shows the predatory spirit asserting itself more and more potently until our own day, leaving us to discern the striking analogy which constantly displays itself to the bygone history of the Romans. Beyond doubt, he states all this with imprudent lack of qualification. Agree with him or not, you cannot escape a frequent impression that he contemplates fact with the enthusiastic limitations of a sincere doctrinaire. Again and again, too, the baffling conditions of language make him appear to attribute responsibility to persons who, according to his own philosophy, cannot possibly be held responsible. Again and again the aggressive assertiveness of his manner, particularly in those passages which deal with the English Reformation, is repellent at just the moments when rhetorical sensitiveness should have made his address most conciliatory. Whoever is indisposed instantly to agree with him would be more than apt, at a single reading, to put his book aside in high dudgeon.

To put it aside, however, is not finally to dispose of it. The test of such a work is not whether we like it, nor yet whether it be correct in minor detail. What it purports to do is to set forth a theory which shall simplify one's concep-

tion of history. A hundred specific applications of such a theory by its author may err without in the least affecting the final validity of his generalization. The true question, neglecting all else, is whether he can help us systematically to correlate the confused, disjointed bits of knowledge which must constantly vex any reflective mind.

In my opinion, the "Law of Civilization and Decay" will bear this test. After some ten years of lecturing on the history of English literature, I ventured, in a book about Shakspeare, to generalize concerning the development of literature considered as a fine art. "Art, of any kind, in nations, in schools, even in individuals, progresses by a rhythmical law of its own. At certain epochs the arts of expression are lifelessly conventional. Born to these conventions, often feeble and impotent, the nation, the school, or the individual destined to be great will begin, like those who preceded, by simple imitation, differing from the older conventions only in a certain added vigor. By and by the force which we have called creative imagination will develop, with a strange, mysterious strength of its own, seemingly almost inspired. Throbbing with this imaginative impulse, the nation, the school, or the individual artist will begin no longer to imitate, but instead to innovate, with an enthusiasm for the moment as unconscious of limits to come as it is disdainful of the old, conventional limits which it has transcended. After a while the limits to come will slowly define themselves. No creative or imaginative impulse can stray too far. The power of words, of lines and colors, of melody and harmony, is never infinite. If slavish fidelity to conventions be lifeless, utter disregard of conventions tends to the still more fatal end of chaotic, inarticulate confusion. One may break fetter after fetter; but one's feet must still be planted on the earth. One may move with all the freedom which the laws of nature allow; but if one try to soar into air or ether, one is more lost even than if one count one's footsteps. So to nations, to schools, to individuals alike, a growing sense of limitation must come. There are things which may be achieved; there are vastly more things and greater which remain fatally beyond human power. Experience, then, begins to check the wilder impulses of creative innovation. Imagination is controlled by a growing sense of fact. Finally, this sense of fact.

this consciousness of environment, grows stronger and stronger, until at length all innovating impulse is repressed and strangled. Again art lapses into a convention not to be disturbed until, perhaps after generations, fresh creative impulse shall burst its bonds again." The Elizabethan drama affords a remarkably compact example of literary and artistic evolution. If these generalizations concerning this matter be not clear, any one may define their meaning for himself by comparing the *Tamburlaine* of Marlowe, the *Hamlet* of Shakspeare, and John Webster's *Duchess of Malfy*. In these three writers, one may almost say, a cycle of literary evolution is complete.

This generalization concerning the arts of expression is far longer, more desultory, and less bold than Mr. Adams's concerning the phenomena of history. Like his, however, it is the fruit of a good many years of conscientious thinking. At first, very likely, it would seem to bear no great resemblance to his. *Imagination* is a rather agreeable word, and *fear* — unless you carefully specify it to be the fear of God — is rather a contemptuous one. A *sense of fact* is commonly held to be rationally commendable, and *greed* — unless it be greed of honor — to be generally abominable. If we set aside prejudice, however, asking ourselves rigidly what these terms mean, and neglecting for the moment what they accidentally suggest, we come presently to an unexpected conclusion. *Imagination* is a pretty name for a special form of a kind of consciousness which in its broadest aspect may properly, if not quite cordially, be named *fear*, — that kind of consciousness whose prime trait is that it recognizes in its environment a limitless range of possibilities as yet strange to experience. So a *sense of fact* and *greed* are widely different, but not inconsistent, names for a kind of consciousness whose prime trait is that it recognizes with growing distinctness the exact nature of its material surroundings. For at least one reader, then, Mr. Adams's generalization has illuminated mental regions hitherto dark; it has suddenly extended to the whole limits of human history the range of a generalization of his own which until this word was written had seemed limited to no wider range than that of plastic and literary art.

In saying this one does not necessarily assent to his views in detail; one does not even accept as final the extreme fatalism which seems to characterize his philosophy. One need

not in the least admit that he is right in believing that he has unflinchingly set forth the imminent, inexorable fate of the civilization which at present we enjoy. One is bound, however, to feel that he has fearlessly expounded a remarkably consistent view of a constant, crescent danger which threatens us. One is bound, in short, to speak of his work in the language of Raleigh: "In a word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other men's fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings."

Walter Raleigh was a wise man. There is another saying of his which we may well recall: "Such is the multiplying and extensive virtue of dead earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath cast upon slime and dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with, every one hath received a several picture of face, and every one a diverse picture of mind; every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing; there being nothing in which nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude." Judged by this canon, it is needless to say, there are still many aspects in which Mr. Adams's work may be viewed as a remarkable triumph of nature. But triumph of dissimilitude though the book may be, it deserves, if the views here set forth of it be just, a record in this place; for if these views be just, there is more than a chance that it is a notable, lasting contribution to historical philosophy made among us here, in our own New England.

MR. CHARLES C. SMITH said that the Committee appointed to publish a volume of selections from the Bowdoin and Temple Papers, communicated to the Society in 1894 by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., had made such progress in the duty assigned to them that it was hoped the volume would be ready for distribution at the next Annual Meeting. The volume covers a period from some years before the passage of the Stamp Act down to the recognition of American Independence by the preliminary articles of peace with Great Britain. He desired now to communicate for publication in the Proceedings a letter of a later period from Governor Bowdoin to his brother-in-law George Erving. It was written after the adoption of the Federal Constitution and before the new government was

organized, and shows what were the expectations at that time of a man of moderate opinions with regard to the practical working of the new system.

Boston, Aug. 12, 1788.

SIR, — I wrote you by Bernard y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> of May, since which I have had y<sup>e</sup> pleasure of receiving your very obliging letter of y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> of April, mentioning that your friend Paul Wentworth, Esq., had informed you that on the 3<sup>d</sup> of April I was elected a member of the Royal Society by a large attendance of its members. I esteem myself greatly honoured by y<sup>e</sup> election, and the more so as it was unsolicited and unexpected on my part. I beg y<sup>e</sup> favour you will signify to M<sup>r</sup> Wentworth in the most respectful terms my thanks to him for the very obliging part he took in this transaction; and at the same time, you, my dear Sir, will on this occasion have the goodness to accept of my best acknowledgments for interesting yourself so warmly and effectually in behalf of your friend. The expence of the diploma, which you are so good as to say you will pay, shall be repaid to your order, & with thanks.

I am very glad you have resumed the subject of one of your former letters, and doubt not I shall receive at least as much pleasure from your further discussion of it as I had from the first. As to the new plan of federal government, which you approve in theory, but doubt whether it will be practicable, it has been adopted by eleven of the States, and will probably be in operation by March next. If it be well administred, I believe y<sup>e</sup> States will be very happy under it. Having long experienced the evils arising from inefficiency, they will the more readily submit to a firm and efficient government, to which from choice as well as necessity they will be strongly attached, though it is easily conceivable that some individuals whose views and wishes cannot be realized under good government will endeavour to disrest the minds of the people, and make them uneasy, even with the best formed government administred in the best manner. It is imagined here that after a few years experience, w<sup>ch</sup> will determine what alterations are eligible, the federal constitution will become fixt; that good government being firmly established, a great number of people, and many of the better sort, will emigrate hither from different parts of Europe, and that y<sup>e</sup> United States from that circumstance, as well as by natural encrease, will in a short time be viewed in a respectable light, even by the ministry & polititians of Great Britain, whose system of politicks in regard to American commerce will probably be somewhat if not greatly altered when Congress under y<sup>e</sup> new Constitution will have the power of regulating it within y<sup>e</sup> ports of y<sup>e</sup> United States.

Your sister presents you her most affectionate regards in connection with, S<sup>r</sup>,

Yrs.



Mr. SMITH also communicated for Rev. Dr. Samuel E. Herrick, who was not present, the memoir of the late Hamilton A. Hill which Dr. Herrick had been appointed to write for the Proceedings.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called attention to the recently published Bibliography of the State of Maine, by the Hon. Joseph Williamson, and said:—

Within a few months the Honorable Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, has given to the Historical Society a copy of his "Bibliography of the State of Maine from the earliest period to 1891," in two volumes. It is numbered 4 of ten copies on large paper, and forms altogether one of the most complete works of its kind yet published, being at the same time an honor to the literature of his native State and a monument to his own labors. His scope is a wide one, and, with certain exceptions, takes in the full titles of "every book, pamphlet, and reputable magazine article at any time printed in or having reference to Maine, and also all of which the authors were, at the time of writing or publishing, residents within the state." A careful scrutiny of its pages fails to detect any important errors or omissions, but one statement therein contained, however, can be modified by the existence of a pamphlet on our shelves. In speaking of the third edition of the Reverend Thomas Symmes's sermon, occasioned by the death of Captain John Lovewell at Pigwacket fight, in what is now Fryeburg, Maine, and preached at Bradford, Massachusetts, on May 16, 1725, Judge Williamson says: "Perfect copies of this edition are very rare. No copy is known to exist which contains the title-page" (II. 495). If he means by this statement that no perfect copy is known to exist, with the titlepage, he may be correct; but there is one in this library, with the titlepage, but unfortunately lacking the last two leaves. Owing to its rarity, I give here a reproduction of the page, as near as modern type will allow, as follows:—

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
F I G H T

OF THE INTREPID

Captain JOHN LOVELL,  
WHICH TOOK PLACE

On the Eighth day of May, 1725,

ON THE BEACH OF LOVELL'S POND, IN  
*FREEBURGH,*

In the District of MAINE.

TOGETHER WITH THE

Commemoration S E R M O N,

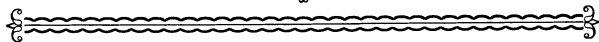
DELIVERED

By the Rev. Mr. T. SYMMES.

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Published according to Act of Congress.

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PRINTED AT *Freeburg*, BY AND FOR  
*ELIJAH RUSSELL,*  
1799.

This Society also possesses a copy of the first edition of the same sermon; and as that, too, is a rare tract, I give below a transcript of the titlepage, indicating the lines by turned dashes:—

*Lovewell Lamented.* | — | OR, A | SERMON | Occasion'd by  
the Fall | Of the Brave | *Capt.* John Lovewell | And Several  
of his | *Valiant* COMPANY, | In the late | Heroic ACTION | at  
*Piggwacket.* | Pronounc'd at *Bradford, May 16 1725* | — | By  
*Thomas Symmes, V. D. M.* | — | [Two lines from Isaiah iii. 25.]  
| — || *BOSTON* in *New-England*: | Printed by *B. Green Junr.* for  
*S. Gerrish,* | near the Brick Meeting House in Cornhill. | 1725.  
16mo. pp. (1), xii, 32.

The sermon contains an historical preface, duly attested by three of the company, which gives many particulars of this ill-fated expedition. It includes a list of the men who took part in the fight, with the names of the killed and wounded.


The following advertisement in "The Boston News-Letter," July 1, 1725, gives the exact date of publication:—

**T**HIS *Day is Published, Historical Memoirs of the late Battle at Piggwacket, between Capt. Lovewell & Company, and a Number of our Indian Enemy; well Attested by several that were in that Fight. With a Sermon Preach'd upon that Memorable Occasion, By the Reverend Mr. Symmes, of Bradford. To be Sold by Samuel Gerrish Bookseller, near the Brick Meeting House in Corn-hill, Boston. Price 1 s. single, & 10 s per doz.*

This edition was so soon exhausted that within ten days another was printed. In its list of advertisements "The New-England Courant" (Boston), July 10, has the following:—

\*†\* In a few Days will be publish'd, The Rev. Mr. Symmes's Sermon upon the Death of Capt. Lovewell, &c. in the late Fight at Piggwacket, with a particular Account of that memorable Action, well attested. Sold by Samuel Gerrish, Bookseller, near the Brick Meeting House in Corhhill [*sic*], Boston. Price 1 s. single, or 10 s. per doz,

This edition duly appeared on time, according to a notice in "The Boston News-Letter," July 15, as follows:—

 **T**HE First Impression of the Rev. Mr Symmes's Sermon, occasion'd by the Fall of the Valiant Capt LOVEWELL, and others in the late Fight at Piggwacket, with a particular Account of that Heroic Action, being Sold off in a few days: This is to give Notice, That a Second Impression, Corrected & Enlarged, is now just out of the Press. Sold by Samuel Gerrish, near the Brick Meeting-house in Cornhill, Boston. Price 1 s. Single, or 10 s. per Doz

A copy of the second edition is found in the library of the Boston Athenæum, from which is made a lined transcript of the titlepage as given below:—

*Historical Memoirs* | Of the Late Fight at | *Piggwacket*, |  
WITH A | SERMON | Occasion'd by the Fall of the Brave | Capt  
*John Lovewell* | And Several of his Valiant Company, | IN THE  
LATE | Heroic ACTION there. | Pronounc'd at *Bradford, May, 16.*  
*1725* | — | By THOMAS SYMMES, V. D. M. | — | The Second Edition  
Corrected. | — | [Two lines from Isaiah iii. 25.] | — || BOSTON in  
*New England*: | Printed by *B Green Jun.* for *S Gerriſh*, near the |  
Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill. 1725. 16mo. pp. (1), xii, 32.

In this edition the running title of “An *Historical PREFACE*” is changed to “*Memoirs of the Fight at Piggwacket.*” A few corrections are made in the list of the soldiers, notably in the instance where Isaac Lakin's name is substituted for John Gilson's. The whole pamphlet appears to have been set up anew.

Three other editions of the sermon have been published at various times in different places, namely: one in Portland, Maine (1818), another in Concord, New Hampshire (1861), and a third in Boston (1865).

Copies of both the early editions (1725) are found in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

MR. WILLIAM P. UPHAM said that he had recently examined a large mass of fragmentary papers belonging to the Society, many of which were of great historical interest. A few of these fragments were found to be so badly decayed, and yet so valuable, as to require immediate attention. These he had carefully repaired, and put into a condition for preservation, and had made copies of them so far as was possible, describing them as copies of certain fragments found among a

large collection of Court papers in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This collection was deposited with the Society about seventy years ago, and came from the Tudor family. The papers evidently consist for the most part of the files of the Superior Court of Judicature in a very broken and confused condition, and resemble in every respect a similar mass of papers formerly deposited in chests and kept in the cellar of the Suffolk Court House and afterwards in the cellar of the Probate Office Building, and recently put in order and arranged in bound volumes by Mr. Upham under the direction of Mr. John Noble, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court.

Among these papers were found certain portions of leaves torn from ancient record books and notarial records, and many other signs of rough handling long ago; which goes to confirm the tradition that these papers, like those in the Court House, were stored in the Old South Meeting House at the Revolution, and while the British troops were there, the chests were broken open and the papers and books wantonly scattered.

Many of these manuscripts are in so fragmentary a condition that they would be unintelligible in print. One of them, however, though it contains but a few words, seemed to him to be so interesting as to repay by itself the trouble of examining the whole collection. It is a deposition by William Dade, in 1659, he being then fifty-four years of age, in relation to a lawsuit then being tried at the County Court in Charlestown between the "Proprietors of Charlestown Stinted Common" and Thomas Gold (or Goold), at that time tenant of Winthrop's "Ten Hills" farm. William Dade testifies that many years before "there was an agreement between John Winthrop, Senior of *blessed memory* by his agent, and the prudential men of Charlestown." It is very extraordinary and very pleasing to find such a term of regard used in a business transaction so soon after Winthrop's death. The following is printed from the original, which is in good preservation:—

"The Deputyes beinge Informed that there are severall Great Gunns to be had at very reasonable Rates both at Barbados & ffrench Tartoodos & that no effectuall Course hath bin taken to prosecute the order lately made for the obtayninge either of Great or small Artillery, doe therefore Judge meete that some further Consideration may be had by this Court Touchinge that affayre & such psons may be treated withall

as haue bin in Nomination for p̄cureing such Gunns as in the sd order is exprest or in Case of faylure that some other course may be taken to p̄cure those first aboue mentioned, that so the Country may be supplied in that respect the Deputyes haue past this desiringe the Consent of oʳ Hono<sup>rd</sup> Magistrates hereto.

21 (8) 1673.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*.

The ma<sup>g</sup>is<sup>ts</sup> Consent hereto & haue Appointed Richard Russell Esq<sup>r</sup> to Joyne w<sup>th</sup> [some] of their brethren the Deputjes as a Co<sup>m</sup>ittee to bring the same to effect their brethren the deputyes hereto Consenting.

21<sup>th</sup> october 1673.

EDWARD RAWSON *Secret<sup>ry</sup>*

The Deputyes Consent hereto & haue appoynted Cap<sup>t</sup> Allen & Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamon to be of this Comittee

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*"

In connection with his remarks upon this collection of manuscripts, Mr. Upham made the following announcement:

The Boston Athenæum has had an exact list made of all manuscripts in its custody, in answer to the very happy suggestion recently made by the American Historical Association that societies or individuals having hitherto unpublished manuscripts should make a list of them and report to the Association, with a view to the publication of such as might be deemed valuable to historical students. The work has been very thoroughly done for the Athenæum by Mr. A. P. C. Griffin. Among the manuscripts thus brought to light are some volumes of such very great value and interest that I think it proper, with the approbation of Mr. Lane, the Librarian of the Athenæum, to announce it here for the information of our members.

The volumes to which I refer are the following:—

1. The Notarial Record kept by William Aspinwall from Dec. 20, 1644, to July 4, 1651. 350 pp. 4°

2. The Notarial Record of Samuel Tyley and Ezekiel Goldthwait, 1731–1754.

3. The Notarial Record of Ezekiel Price, 1754–1780.

4. The Record of County Court for Suffolk from 31 Oct. 1671, to April 1, 1680. 641 pp. F°

5. Fifth Book of Executions—Suffolk—Inferiour Court of Common Pleas. 3 Nov. 1763 to Nov. 1771—also one record of execution, Feb. 26, 1779. 227 pp. F°

The Aspinwall Record is of very great value, being equal in importance to the Note-Book of Thomas Lechford printed by the American Antiquarian Society in 1885. Its contents are of a similar character, notarial records of deeds, powers of attorney, judgments of court, protests, accounts, etc. Some of the powers of attorney are for the receiving of legacies or taking possession of inherited lands, and may be found to furnish clues to the connection between families in Old and New England. It is hoped that it may soon be published for the benefit of historical and genealogical students.

In glancing through the book I noticed one record of such peculiar interest bearing upon a question of local history, lately discussed, that I asked and readily obtained the privilege of making a copy for publication, which I present herewith. The question to which I refer is as to the location of the house first occupied by Governor Winthrop.

By the statement of Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay at the meeting of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in April, 1895, it appears that the house in which Winthrop lived during the earlier part of his residence in Boston, — that is, before 1643, — “was situated on land a few feet south of State Street, between Kilby and Congress streets.” Mr. Gay quotes the deed of that house by Winthrop to his creditors, Sept. 26, 1643, recorded in Suffolk Registry of Deeds. He also shows that Valentine Hill gave a deed of it to Richard Hutchinson, May 24, 1649. How Hill came to be the owner he does not state.

The following record, above referred to, accounts for the apparent break in the title, and also shows how Winthrop came to dwell during the last six years of his life on the lot near the Old South Meeting House and opposite School Street. That his creditors in Boston should have voluntarily replaced the mansion-house which misfortune and his high sense of honor had obliged him to surrender, by providing him with a house “more convenient” for his use, shows the great affection and esteem with which he was regarded by all.

*Extract from Notarial Record of William Aspinwall at the Boston Athenæum.*

Page 191. 15 (3) 1649 “Whereas John Winthrop of Boston in the Massachusetts, bearing date [blank\*] for satisfaction of his Creditors

\* See Suff. Regy of Deeds, vol. i. p. 45. The deed was dated 26—(7)<sup>mo</sup>—1643.

did giue & grant vnto W<sup>m</sup> Tyng the then Treasurer for the Country Valentine Hill of Boston merch<sup>t</sup> & diuers other of his sd Creditors All that his mansion house in Boston w<sup>th</sup> the yards gardens & orchyards \* therevnto belonging : & all that his ferme called Tenhills in Charls towne w<sup>th</sup> the lands &c: therevnto belonging (as by the sd deed doth more fully appeare) to the vse of the sd Valentine Hill & the rest of his sd Creditors & theire heires, for satisfaction of such summes of money as were due vnto them : And whereas there is due vnto the sd Valentine from the sd John Winthrop the summe of fyve hundred pounds w<sup>ch</sup> is more then a third parte of all that is due to all the Creditors : In consideration here of the rest of the sd Creditors whose names are here vnder written haue agreed & consented that the sd Valentine shall haue & enjoy the sd mansion house in Boston w<sup>th</sup> the Appurtenances at the rate it hath beene apprizd by indifferent men viz<sup>t</sup> [blank] to him and his heires. & wee whose names are here vnder written doe for vs & o<sup>r</sup> heires release & confirme to the sd Valentine & his heires all o<sup>r</sup> right title & interest in & to the sd mansion house w<sup>th</sup> the Appurtenances. In testimony whereof we haue here vnto subscribed o<sup>r</sup> names. Dated (12) 6. 1644.

RICH: DUMER.

THO: ALLEN.

RICH: TRUESDALE.

BENJAMIN GILLOM.

RICHARD RUSSELL.

ROBERT SEDGWICK.

HENRY WEBB.

ANTHONIE STODDARD.

TIMOTHIE HATHERLEY.

SUSAN HUDSONS MARKE.

EDW. BENDALL.

ROB<sup>t</sup> LONG for M<sup>r</sup> AXTEL.

I the sd John Winthrop do earnestly intreate the rest of my Creditors to giue their consent herevnto, w<sup>ch</sup> they may doe w<sup>th</sup>out wrong to themselves, in regard that the ferme w<sup>ch</sup> is left to them is more then twice so much worth as the sd house, & the sd valentine w<sup>th</sup> the rest of of Boston haue pvided mee a more convenient house for my vse.

JOHN WINTHROP.

† m<sup>r</sup> Richard Webb, m<sup>r</sup> Anthonie Stoddard, Benjamin Gillom, Richard Truesdale, Edward Bendale, did acknowledge before mee W<sup>m</sup> Aspinwall Notary publ. this 24 (1) 1648 that the subscription of their names on the other side was their owne act. So also did



m<sup>r</sup> Richard Russell, major Robert Sedgwick Robert Long & Susan Hudson. 5 (2) 1648. Quod attestor &c:”

The request of Winthrop was written in the margin of the original, and apparently before the signing by the creditors.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the Hon. WILLIAM W. CRAPO, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE, and Messrs. HENRY W. HAYNES and GAMALIEL BRADFORD.

# MEMOIR

OF

## HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL, LL.D.

BY SAMUEL E. HERRICK.

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HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL died at his residence (Hotel Cluny) in Boston, early on the morning of Saturday, the 27th of April, 1895. Till within a few days of his death, his appearance in all his accustomed resorts was so constant and familiar, his activities social and literary were so sustained and vigorous in connection with the various organizations to which he belonged, his physical appearance was so naturally sturdy and his mental powers so alert and his interest in all historic and current affairs so vital, that the announcement of his departure came as a shock to all who knew him. It is rarely given to a man holding no marked official position, outside of all recognized professional lines, never dowered with material resources beyond the simple demands of modest household comfort, and standing in no line of special hereditary or traditional influence, to fill so large a place, social, religious, and literary, and to fill it so well, as did the subject of this memoir.

He was never a great merchant; but for signal services to the mercantile profession, no name was more honorably known than his. He made no pretensions to scholarship; and yet he accomplished work for which many scholars will be grateful. He never aspired to social prestige; but society at its best loved him and welcomed his presence. He was neither a statesman nor a politician; but he was a citizen distinguished beyond most for his intelligent patriotism. He was not a religious leader; and yet in the communion which he loved and honored, few men were more honored and loved than he, for the part which he bore in the religious thought and life of his time.



*Hamilton A. Hill*

Hamilton Andrews Hill, the eldest son of Hamilton Hill and Anna, daughter of George Andrews, of Holybourne House, near Alton, Hants, was born in London, April 14, 1827. Hamilton Hill, the father, born at Glastonbury, Somerset, March 16, 1794, was the son of William, born October 1, 1759, educated at Kingsbridge Grammar School, and afterward a solicitor at Glastonbury. This William was the second son of another William, who was born at Exeter, August 17, 1726, and died in 1804 in his seventy-eighth year. *His* father was William of Whitestone in Devonshire, baptized April 25, 1698, and died October 28, 1743. This William was the son of Hugh, baptized January 4, 1664-5, who was the youngest of six sons of Clement Hill, of Puddington, Devonshire, and his wife, Agnes Gorges, whom he married in 1646. This Clement was son of another Clement. From this point — the eighth generation — the line of ascent cannot be positively traced. Two other sons of Hamilton Hill grew to manhood: Clement Hugh, a counsellor-at-law, retired from practice and a member of this Society; and Alfred Bryce, for many years a stock-broker in Boston and afterward in New York, and Vice-President of the New York Stock Exchange, in whose building he died suddenly July 15, 1887, just after having, in the absence of the President, announced the death of a member.

Mr. Hill had his education in boyhood first at the City of London School, and afterward at a private school kept by Mr. Samuel Wilkins, father of the distinguished Professor of Latin in Owens College, Manchester. In his fourteenth year, early in 1841, he came with his father's family to America. It was no holiday flitting, though for a boy of his intelligence, and bred as he had been amid the staid, traditional, comfortable, and cultivated conditions of English life, it must have been full of romantic and even bizarre experience. It was the migration of a household out of the refinements of high civilization into the conditions of comparative barbarism. Oberlin, Ohio, was at that day in the far-off wilds of "the West." Only eight years before this the foundations of the College and the town had been laid in what was then an unbroken forest. The projectors of the enterprise were governed by thoroughly unworldly, and, as it seemed to many at the time and for long years afterward, Utopian and fantastic notions. They proved themselves to be of that kind of "come-outers" which in all ages from Abraham down have inaugu-

rated great moral, social, political, and religious movements. They were puritans and pilgrims, seeking a better country; and, like all such in all time, they were largely under the world's ban. The conditions of the Colony and College in infancy were more than strenuous. After struggling for six or seven years they were \$30,000 in debt and threatened with bankruptcy. The great fire of 1835 in New York, and still further the financial overturning of 1837, had annulled the pledges, and swept away the slender endowments upon which the work had been carried on. The friends to whom they could appeal in America were few, and these not very sympathetic. In this crisis the Rev. John Keep and Mr. William Dawes, two of the Oberlin trustees, undertook a financial mission to England. They prosecuted their endeavors particularly "among the antislavery people, especially those of the Society of Friends, to whom the Oberlin enterprise commended itself on account of its antislavery character and its forwardness in the education of women. The fact also that Oberlin students had already become engaged in missionary work among the freedmen of Jamaica was a matter of interest to many Christians of England."<sup>1</sup> After an absence of a year and a half, Messrs. Keep and Dawes returned to America, having secured, above all their expenses, thirty thousand dollars in money, "sufficient to meet the most pressing liabilities of the institution, together with a large accession of books to the library and good provisions for philosophical and chemical apparatus."<sup>2</sup> They brought with them more valuable apparatus than that, having succeeded in persuading to accompany them to the wilds of Oberlin "Mr. Hamilton Hill of London, a very genial Christian gentleman, and his family." Mr. Hill was invited to become the secretary and treasurer of the College, a position which he held for twenty-three years. This was in 1841. For three years after this the subject of our memoir was a member of Oberlin College, after which, without graduating, he left his studies and came to Boston to enter upon a mercantile career. From this time (1844) until his death, more than half a century later, there were few of Boston's native citizens, even of those who could boast of seven generations of Pilgrim or Puritan ancestry behind them on these shores, who were so thoroughly imbued with the town's

<sup>1</sup> President Fairchild's History of Oberlin, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 209.

historic spirit, who took greater pride in its traditions, deeper interest in its welfare, or felt a more absorbing enthusiasm for its advancement toward every high moral or civic ideal. Said Dr. George A. Gordon, in a beautiful tribute spoken in the Old South Church at the time of Mr. Hill's decease: —

“The Puritan past had an especial charm for him. He had been prepared by ancestry, home-training, and all the fountains of early interest to venerate the characters and achievements of the men and women who made New England, — the records of their voyages to these shores, of their settlement in different parts of the colony, of their institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, of the struggles and hardships of their lives, of their simple and touching domestic history, the birth and baptism of their children, the marriage of their sons and daughters, the burial of their dead, and their bearing under the immemorial mystery of sorrow, the succession of their generations at the great and solemn task of living, and the issue of the Pilgrim and Puritan communities in the New England of to-day. These records were to him almost as sacred as a chapter from the Bible.”

For the first three or four years of his residence in Boston, he was employed as a clerk with Whitney & Fenno, importers and dealers in dry-goods, in Milk Street. In 1848 he began business as a forwarding and commission agent between Great Britain and Canada, in partnership with Eben Sears, under the style of Hill & Sears. For some years they were very successful; but the opening of the Canadian Railway to Portland and the establishment of the Canadian line of steamers gradually took away the business from Boston, and the firm was dissolved.

This turn of affairs, whether regarded as fortunate or not for himself by Mr. Hill, was certainly so for the broader interest of the community. He had not found — he was not to find — his true vocation in the walks of commercial enterprise. He spent the years 1861–64 in the Boston Custom House, and for six years more was secretary first of the local and then of the National Board of Trade. These positions first disclosed his remarkable versatility as a writer upon social, commercial, and economic questions, and brought him frequently before the public in a series of notable addresses, the bibliography of which as they are to be found in our Library, and furnished me by the kindness of Mr. Tuttle, our Assistant Librarian, I have taken the liberty to append to this memoir.

For four consecutive sessions, 1878-81, Mr. Hill was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, serving during a portion of the time as chairman of the Committee on Finance and also of the Committee on Harbors and Public Lands. From this time, while his interest in commercial affairs did not cease, he devoted his energies and studies more especially to historic research. As a member of the Bostonian, the New-England Historic Genealogical, the American Philosophical, and the American Antiquarian Societies, our associate found constant and congenial opportunities for a wide range of investigation, of which the results are of abiding and increasing value. Painsstaking and faithful in research, independent and fair in his judgment, never subordinating his love of the truth to personal bias; clear, strong, and just; at the same time profound in his sympathy and deep and serious in his religious feeling, his contributions to the later annals of New England's and especially of Boston's Puritan life, must pass — may we not say, have already passed — into the abiding companionship of the Annals of Prince and the Diaries of Sewall and the Lectures of Wisner.

His literary life fitly culminated in the noble History of the Old South Church, published in 1890. It stands for strength and beauty in the field of our city's religious history much as the graceful and towering campanile of the Old South stands in the town's material architecture, — “a thing of beauty and a joy forever.” If there were any indifferent enough to its moral and religious significance to question or deny its value, it must at least compel, even from such, an acknowledgment of its reverent endeavor, its abundant learning, and its finished grace.

Our associate's services to the cause of good learning were recognized by the bestowment of the academic degree of A.M. from Oberlin in 1867, and also from Williams in 1868; and by that of LL.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1893.

Mr. Hill married, in 1859, Miriam Phillips, daughter of Hon. Samuel H. Walley, who died in 1862, leaving a son, Samuel Walley, who survived her but a few days. In 1869 he married Anna Frances, daughter of Mr. Charles Carruth, a merchant of Boston, who with a son and a daughter survives him.

*Works of Hamilton Andrews Hill, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

Detroit Commercial Convention. The West and the East equally interested in the Development of American Steamship Navigation. An Address by Hamilton A. Hill, one of the Delegates from the Boston Board of Trade. Boston, 1865. 8vo, pp. 24.

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